1: Métraux--82 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

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Fig. 12. Deer-horn awl (wati-piraa). Formerly the Chiriguano used them to pierce the lower lip of their children. Prov.: Saladito. (1/2 nat. size.)

Ce
411
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Ce
[284]
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Fig. 13. Bow of the Chané Indians. Outside surface semicircular; inside surface flat. The bow is reinforced with casings of deerskin (?). Prov.: Tuyuntí (Salta Prov., Argentine Rep.). (1/7 nat. size.)

/482 cont./

faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 139), /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance composed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which gives a violet color.

4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karatši) if one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These instruments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had
304 his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

831 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before mar-
191 riage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective
191 father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bride-
591 groom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

595 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of
622 wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many
556 cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and
764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.
765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

724 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[199] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[197] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
● 304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/188 cont./

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replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

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[831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha poña, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mboivera (1).

302

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grow, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

[178]

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[191]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P 260]

/227 cont./
881 health. contract marriage. serve their husbands very efficiently.
198 and educate their children. who are born with all the perfection
199 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region. even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870. many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage. having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy. as has already been seen. is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother. and after the age of six or seven years. exclusively that of the father. who accustoms him to field chores. to hunting. and even to fishing in the areas where
226 462 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the little streams. and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through. a job they call Pariventa.

881 [195] /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and not a boy. the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae. or man ready for everything. His father. his grandfather. his mother. [304] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is [301] necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of [885] the tribe. that is to say. it is necessary to have his lower lip. [884] Tembe. pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta. which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe. lower lip. and ta or ita. stone. which literally translated. means stone for the lower lip. where it is put.

/228 cont./

301 [309] The Tembeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or hooks on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tembeta is hollow up to near the surface of the hooks; a little wax is put in it, and the ornaments, such as coralline or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the itogũ, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tembeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tembetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (2).

2. Though tembeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone; the literal meaning comes from itogũ, which is a stone. The itogũ is also set in those of wood.

173 30 The tembeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tembetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the tin one, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. [309] This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

301 [335] The itogũ had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a cow, a burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a relative value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the itogũ is not found in [171] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Incas or Quichuas /Quechua/. /228/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tembetas, in which they set the itogũ, or green stone.

/229 cont./

881 304 [821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know [186] [885] that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[869] [171]

1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

304 881 759

/229 cont./

304 759 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).

2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number: superstition and nothing else.

[801]

304 881 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious [785] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see [114] and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting: thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of [195] a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, he orders them that it is time to give up the ũ, ũ in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [195]

1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/230 cont./

304 881 (304) Then the one doing the operation looks among his implements for the string with which he takes the exact measurements so that the hole will be in the middle and above the chin. Then he prepares the Guaupirasa, which literally means: piercer of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have believed that the guaupirasa is a pygmy-deer horn on the basis of the name guasu, with which the name of the article begins, but it is a mistake. The guaupirasa is a round piece of iron of the size of a cotalera needle, which they call Yargû in Quichua /Quechua/ (1).

304 413 881 (114)

> 2. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first tembeta, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 881 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements with a string; he puts his hand on his guaupirasa, and upon seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence, and the other people shrink back. Finally, utilizing the services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples, at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure /231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill, the Guaupirasa coming up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In (301) Chiriguano this tube is called Tembetandi, or white tembeta.

4: Nino--316 M-3 (1680-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/321 cont./

In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat cowardly ones, there is a swelling, and on others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to them, by heating the leaves of the bush Tracuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

G: Winn--910 M-2 (1888-1911) 1919 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/321 cont./

304 191 [324] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /325/ from the bush called Tarumbiú, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will put a larger stick from the same bush and put it in also, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 [324] [434] [199] The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301 191 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human races. Undoubtably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

Schwedenstiftet E-8,c (1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF1
71

Fig. 24. Old Chiriguano Indian with a big »Tembeta». Tiki-Tiki, Bolivia.

XII.

Articles connected with the deformation of the body. »Tembeta».

All Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation and, in a few of the Chiriguano villages, the younger men and boys also wear a so-called *tembeta* or lip-button in the under-lip. The custom of boring the lips is wide-spread in S. America. DALL, DENIS, NEVEU, UHLE and VERNEAU-RIVET have drawn up summary tables to which I beg to refer, at the same time making some additions based on notes I have made from the literature on the subject to which I have had access.

The tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is made, as a rule, of tin and in shape reminds one of a cap with a peak at both the front and back. (fig. 25)

former have in S. America a much wider distribution than the latter. When both types existed together, as was the case among the Tupinambá, the boys had to be content with spike-shaped variety, while the men had the cup-shaped. For the latter kind a specially valuable material was employed, viz. a rare kind of green stone.

In all likelihood it was from the Andine area of civilization that the cup-shaped tembeta spread to Patagonia to the Chané, Chiriguano and Tupinambá. This must have happened before the time of the Incas. At the time of the conquest the Incas had no tembetas. The discovery of tembetas of this type at Tiahuanaco supports the notion that we have here to do with a culture-element which spread south and east during the Tiahuanaco period.

Should an attempt be made to draw a diagram showing the evolution of tembeta-types, I imagine it would be pretty much as follows (fig. 27).

Out of the small cylindrical wooden plug which still occurs everywhere for the purpose of keeping the lip-button hole open, and to extend the same, three types have been specialised:

(1) The exaggeratedly large, flat, round wooden disc;
(2) The more or less spike-shaped lip-button;
(3) The flat cup-shaped tembeta.

Of these (1) is most likely the oldest, (2) next and (3) the most recent.

If the cup-shaped tembeta in this part of America comes from the Andine area of civilization, the Chiriguano have probably taken it westwards again. The Chané generally have quite small tembetas, this being the reason why they are scornfully called by the Chiriguano «tembeta» (women). It is probable that they learned the use of this ornament from the Chiriguano. Of the Chaco tribes visited by me it is only the guaranised Tapiete who have tembetas.

The Chiriguano and Chané men never pierce their ears.

Smithsonian B-4/7(1909-1910, 1913) 1911
NMAI Chiriguano NMAI
Chaco NMAI

Formerly the chiefs wore ear-rings with pendants of green stones. Among these Indians the only women with pierced ears are a few of the younger ones who have learned from the Whites the custom of wearing ear-rings. These ornaments are also obtained from the Whites. Oddly enough, the barbarous custom of piercing the ear in this here an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites. Neither men nor women pierce the nasal septum.

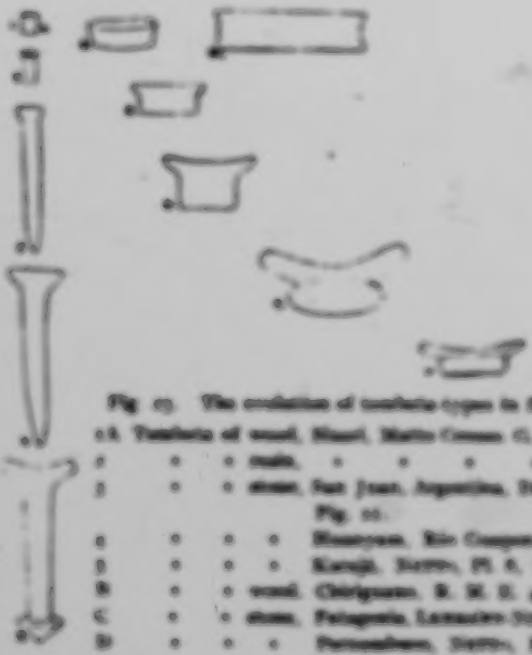

Fig. 13. The evolution of tembeta types in S. America. 1/2

13 A. Tembeta of wood, Bland, Matto Grosso. G. M. 13. 1. 334.
J " " " stone, " " " " " 13. 1. 290.
J " " " stone, San Juan, Argentina, Dorchesterite, (a) Fig. 12.
G " " " " Rio Guapore.
I " " " " Karaja, Steinen, Pl. 6, Fig. 4.
H " " wood, Chiriguano, B. M. S. 4700
C " " stone, Patagonia, Lamarre-Picquot (a), P. 180.
D " " " Paraguay, Steinen, Pl. 6, Fig. 2
E " " " Pukina, Chile, Moreno (a), Fig. 10.
F " " metal, hollowed at the front and filled with wax in which are fastened glass beads. Chiriguano. G. M. 13. 1. 340
B " " wood, Bayo, Rio Negro, Uruguay (a) Fig. 12

Schwabenschiffel 8-8 β (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a motive for ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian motifs or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »knives« an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ? Caipipendi. ½.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

6: Nordenskiöld--87 E-5 (1908-1909)1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF8

Ee 194 515

/304 cont./

and Mataco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

Ee 284 171 515

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

C 304

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapenhia.

Ee 284 171 515

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

Ee 515 824

The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "nyandra," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./, "yéag." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

Ee 302 442

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

302 The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196).
[442] Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

[386] Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting
[824] the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red
302 spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the
304 other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

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Fig. 197. Lip-stud (»tembeta») of tin, with inlaid, pierced, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. $^{9}/_{6}$. Riksm. 03. 3. 822.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud (»tembeta»), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.5 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld (35), pp. 83, 85 and (13), pp. 187—188.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement«).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta« (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

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[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis. Vol. 3. Buenos Aires. 1836. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

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With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

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The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians. /26/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

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107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition. Vol. 8. Paris. 1781. p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

/25/

Ce 301 The way these tembetás are used has often been described. Figure 27 shows an Izozó man from whose pierced lower lip projects a round stone disk. When these Indians use the tembetá, they pass it from the inside through the perforation in the lip so that its base is between the row of lower teeth and the lower lip, with the cylinder sticking out from the lip.

C Ce 301 The lower base of three of the Izozó tembetás is quite flat, and only the lower base of tembetá I.A. 129 has a clearly concave form. This is of interest because v. Nordenskiöld and v. Rosen, when they describe the Chiriguano and Chané tembetás mention only those which have a concave base (110).

110. Nord. 2, p. 72.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use wooden tembeta's in the form of flat cylinders (111).

111. Nord. 2, p. 72.

Ce 301 23? [123] As already mentioned, I obtained simple wax tembetá from the Izozó. The old man who took it out of his lower lip to give it to me doubtless was using it provisionally for lack of another tembetá, in order to close the perforation in his lower lip and prevent the saliva from coming out.

C Ce 304 301 [622] The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not have the custom of piercing their ear lobes. According to Nordenskiöld (112),

112. Nord. 2, p. 77.

Ce [199] Ce 301 the caciques formerly used pendant earrings set with green stones. If the younger women and girls have recently begun to use earrings, they are imitating this custom of the whites. The cacique of the Izozó in Toledo told me that the women had gold and silver earrings, which at that time they had hidden.

/87 cont./

C 88 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 881 304 We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [413] [239]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

C C 887 848 Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 179.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6
Chiriguano SF10

Ci 304 755 761

almost with pride. *Evidently it is thought that the very scars afterwards act as a sort of charm against the spirits.*'[1]

Co 831 304 171

If scars left by wounds are considered to possess desirable, magical properties, it would easily be supposed that perforations that have been kept open must possess the same properties in a greatly enhanced degree. Among the Chiriguano, neighbours of the Choroti, the actual piercing of the lower lip constituted the most important of the ceremonial acts performed on the boys on their having attained puberty, and among the Chané — whose culture is akin to that of the Chiriguano — not only was the lower lip pierced on this occasion, but the boys were also given other wounds on the body.[2]

Ci 304 789

From what I have adduced above, it will therefore be seen that, according to the belief of the Indians, *the making of punctures or perforations on the body, has in itself magic effects, and, consequently, that these magic effects are not believed to arise with the fixing of some ornamental object of magical character — e. g., a tembeta, or an ear disc — into the perforation.*

Ci 304 789 562

This being so, here, in my opinion, lies the explanation of the fact that Choroti girls sometimes have pierced ear-lobes, although it has never *with certainty* been shown that they ever wear ear discs. On the other hand, from reasons I shall present below, it is *probable* that old Choroti women, with distended ear-lobes, *exceptionally* do wear ear discs.

I myself, as well as other investigators of the Chaco peoples, have seen elderly women among the Choroti with holes in their ears so large that one was forced to suppose that the lobes had been stretched in some way or other. Such stretching, however, may not *necessarily* be due to the wearing of ear blocks, but *may* have been produced by manual manipulation. That, by such means, perfectly monstrous distension of the soft parts of the body can very well be brought about, is proved by, among other things, the practice of the Hottentot women of lengthening out — merely by frequent pulling — the labia minora into an enormous size.[3] A similar stretching of the hole in the ear-lobe might, from the Indians' point of view, have for its object the increasing, proportionately to its size, the magic properties of the hole. Among the Incas, the size

[1] Karsten (4), p. 157. Italics by von Rosen.
[2] Karsten (4), p. 200.
[3] von Luschan (1), p. 378.